

THE OPERATIONAL PATTERN OF

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

IN

LATIN AMERICA

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SUMMARY

Full appreciation of the threat of international Communism in Latin America, as throughout the world, demands knowledge of the operational pattern of those organizations dedicated to the spread of the Soviet Communist doctrine. These have included the Comintern (the Third Communist International), active from 1919 to 1943, and its successor, the Cominform (the Communist Information Bureau) which was formed after World War II and is still active.

Under the Comintern, pro-Soviet Communist parties were organized and supported in foreign countries. A Latin American and Caribbean Bureau was one of five permanent regional branches which controlled subsidies, directed party activities, and selected individuals for Comintern training centers within the Soviet Union. By 1935, 16 of the 76 established Communist parties were in Latin America.

Today, the Cominform represents a modified Comintern, also controlled from Moscow and serving to transmit the Soviet Communist Party policy line to fraternal parties throughout the world, largely through its international journal, published in 19 different languages.

Under close and continuous Soviet Communist guidance, the program of the Brazilian Communist Party has been developed as a model for others in Latin America. The Brazilian program emphasizes the isolation of United States imperialism as the principal enemy of the people, and directs the Communists to seek nationalist business elements and other bourgeois groups as allies in an effort to liquidate US interests. Guided largely through the Cominform journal, other Latin American Communist parties--in Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela--are developing similar programs, all related to the ultimate objective of establishing pro-Soviet "peoples' democracies." Further Soviet guidance may be expected to emerge from the Twentieth Soviet Communist Party Congress, scheduled for February 1956.

Thirteen major international Communist front organizations represent other channels for guidance. These have national affiliates, linked to the national Communist parties, in almost every country of the free world. Designed to influence as many social elements as possible in favor

of Soviet global aims, they are ostensibly dedicated to the promotion of peace, or to the advancement of the interests of labor, youth, women, lawyers, scientists, journalists, or other special groups. In the repetitious pattern of their organization and objectives, the guidance of Soviet Communism is evident. Through their national and regional affiliates, Latin Americans have played a prominent role in the organizations and at their congresses. Among the most active affiliates are those associated with the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Students' Union, and the Womens' International Democratic Federation.

The techniques of indirect support and guidance through the Cominform and the international fronts are not entirely sufficient for the control of Latin American Communist parties. Certain problems require more direct contact and supervision. First, the devious and complex pattern of Soviet international policy, and its implications for national Communist parties, must be explained to trusted national leaders through personal and confidential briefings. Second, as the older Latin American leaders (many trained under the old Comintern) become inactive, the training and selection of new leaders must be maintained under Soviet control. Third, as new leaders emerge within the Soviet Communist Party itself, their control over top foreign leaders must be established through direct personal contact.

These considerations explain the travel of top Latin American leaders to the USSR, and in the support given by the Soviet Communist Party to training and indoctrination of foreign Communists. In October 1952, high leaders representing eleven Latin American Communist parties attended the 19th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, at which major decisions on international Communist strategy were confirmed. Many other Latin American Communists have travelled to the USSR for extensive study, or to participate in tours and conferences arranged through international fronts.

Finally, Soviet Communist control over the local training and indoctrination activities of Latin American Communist parties is aided by the dissemination of Communist literature through the International Book Trust, an agency of the Propaganda Commission of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. This organization distributes a wide variety of Spanish language books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Some of these are Communist classics such as the works of Stalin and Lenin; others are training manuals, such as those used in Soviet Communist Party internal training; still others are interpretive periodicals, such as the New Times, which interprets world events, reprints favorable or useful articles from the world press, and which serves as a medium for inter-communication between parties. In the distribution of these publications, which are made available to local parties as gifts or at nominal cost, can be seen another aspect of an over-all organizational pattern dedicated to the development of national Communist parties which will be aware of, and continuously responsive to, Soviet Communist ideology and objectives.

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Introduction

In order to understand and appreciate the full threat of International Communism, knowledge of its operational methods is required. The incendiary doctrine of Communism can spread only through the overt and secret channels of an international organization. In essence, international Communism is an international organization headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and composed of all other Communist Parties and front organizations. The organizational concept of international Communism is Lenin's contribution. It was Lenin who developed the operational format of Communist Parties. It was Lenin who developed the basic forms of international organization--the Comintern and the international front organizations. Today the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emphasizes more than ever that it is guided by Leninist principles rather than Stalinism. It is fair to state that Leninism and Leninist principles call for greater international expansion of Communism than xenophobic Stalinism. It is also fair to state that Leninism and Leninist principles allow for greater tactical flexibility in order to find new and previously denied areas for expansion. Hence, in anticipation of greater activity of International Communism throughout the world, it is appropriate to review some aspects of the operational pattern of International Communism particularly in relation to Latin America.

I. The Operational Pattern Between the Two World Wars: The Comintern

The first global political machine in history was the Third Communist International -- known as the Comintern. To a large degree the enormous growth of world Communism in our generation has been due to its integrating and compulsive forces. During the 24 years of its official existence (1919-1943), the Comintern coordinated the efforts of groups of determined and fanatical agitators and revolutionaries in almost every nation and colonized area of the world. Through it, the Soviet Union organized and supported the embryonic Communist Parties outside the USSR.

The Comintern represented not only a federation of various Communist Parties joined together for common action, but also a complex and tightly organized headquarters command staff which assumed control over the various national parties and which was itself an executive arm of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) -- the one Communist Party which had already succeeded in seizing power. The abolishment of the Comintern organization in 1943 had little effect on the integration and effectiveness of the international Communist movement. The CPSU merely assumed direct responsibility for the ideological and organizational guidance of foreign parties, no longer needing or wanting the additional headquarters mechanism of the Comintern. The operational pattern of the world movement was already well established. Thus, any discussion of the operational pattern of international Communism in Latin America must start with some appreciation and understanding of Comintern activity in this area.

In particular, it should be remembered that a large part of the successful development of the Communist movement -- particularly during the thirties and during World War II itself -- was due to its practical combination of "legal" (overt or public) and "illegal" (secret or underground) activities in fighting against the political, social, and police opposition it was faced with everywhere outside the Soviet Union. The contributions of the Comintern headquarters to the effective illegal life of the world movement were of singular importance. Ranging from the provision of money, the secret movement of personnel, the provision of safe-haven inside the Soviet Union to the training of foreign Communist leaders in the arts of espionage, sabotage, and clandestine organization and propaganda work, the direction of the international center actually guaranteed the permanent existence of every national party whatever the nature or strength of the forces directed against it.

The principal action components of the Comintern were the national sections, or foreign parties themselves, which were organized by Communist agitators. By 1935 there were affiliated to the Comintern 76 Communist Parties and groups, of which 16 were located in the Latin America area. All foreign Communist Parties were joined in the international center under certain conditions. The supremacy of the Comintern was formally stipulated. Each section was required to undertake propaganda and agitation work in harmony with the programs and decisions of the Comintern. Each section was obliged to render "every possible assistance" to the Soviet Union. Foreign parties were

required to create strong centralized and disciplined organizations, and to build illegal apparatus, or underground agencies, to assist in their more overt activities. These fell into two general categories: agencies which were ready to carry out underground party work in the event of the prohibition or suppression of the legal party, and those which operated alongside the legally functioning party, performing such pre-revolutionary duties as sabotage, paramilitary training, and espionage.

National parties were also entitled to form "federations" with the consent and under the supervision of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The purpose of such federations was to provide more effective coordination of the activities of parties with common problems. In 1925, for example, the illegal parties of Brazil, Peru, Colombia, and Guatemala and the legal party of Paraguay formed a federation which facilitated their common efforts.

Comintern headquarters were in Moscow. The central executive body of the Comintern was its Executive Committee, composed of Russian as well as foreign Communist leaders. A large permanent staff, also composed of Russian as well as foreign Communists, functioned under the overall authority of the Executive Committee. The organization encompassed a complicated hierarchy of command. Beneath the highest levels where political tactics and strategy were drawn up and approved, functional bodies existed to put into practice the Comintern programs—to guide and support global as well as specific area activities. There were Sectional Secretariats, or consultative working bodies responsible for

one or more geographically related foreign parties. One of these was a Latin America Secretariat,* responsible for all parties in that area. There were also various functional agencies which served the broad demands of the Comintern. These agencies were designed to further political-propaganda work or to meet the clandestine action requirements of the international movement. To the first group fell such activities as international propaganda campaigns, the collection and dissemination of intelligence on the status of foreign Communist Parties as well as general conditions abroad, and, very importantly, the organization of training courses in the Soviet Union at which foreign Communist leaders were schooled in Marxist theory and revolutionary tactics.

The clandestine action departments provided the basic network of clandestine communications and covert control of the international movement. An Organization Bureau ensured that the organization of all foreign parties was undertaken in accordance with Comintern principles. This task was handled through the Sectional Secretariats, through conferences attended by foreign party leaders, and through special instructors sent to the field to assist various parties. This Bureau also maintained a central file of all Communists and sympathizers in the world. A Finance Department supplemented the functions of the Organization Bureau by channeling subsidies to the sections abroad, thus providing the necessary funds when parties were unable to operate effectively on their own resources. Finally, an International Liaison Department was charged with the organization of the entire clandestine communications network of the Comintern -- an extremely sensitive liaison function requiring rigid security precautions.

* According to the 1st edition of the Soviet Encyclopedia, the Latin American Secretariat was located in Buenos Aires.

Characteristic of the work of this Department, at headquarters and in the field, were the forging of documents, including passports; radio communications between Moscow and foreign Communists; training of foreign Communists in the Comintern's communication services; and general assistance for the illegal travel of Communists abroad. Generally, the International Liaison Department operated in the field through its own installations and personnel, but it also utilized the organizational and operational facilities of Comintern auxiliary organizations -- that is, those front organizations set up in order to spread the influence of the Comintern beyond the confines of the Communist movement itself. In 1939, for example, the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers -- a Comintern controlled organization -- was reported to be operating a radio station in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, for the Liaison Department.

The basic executive problem of the Comintern, however, was to translate directives and instructions into effective action in the areas of the various geographic sections. For this purpose it was necessary to establish directly in the field certain agencies, or "relay stations," with sufficient power to impose the decisions of the Executive Committee on the national parties. Comintern direction in the field, on a country or regional basis, was primarily achieved through three types of field agencies: Permanent Bureaus, Comintern Representatives, and Comintern instructors. All were clandestine, for their work encroached on the sovereignty of the nation in which they operated and was generally concerned with the illegal activities of the parties.

Five Permanent Bureaus are known to have existed. Of these, the ones for Western Europe and the Far East were later exposed most clearly. The Latin America and Caribbean Bureau still remains largely shrouded in secrecy, although its headquarters were reported in Montevideo, Uruguay, and certain of its more active members were identified. Each Permanent Bureau had charge of transmitting Comintern instructions to the national sections under its jurisdiction and supervising their execution. The Permanent Bureaus also controlled the distribution of subsidies to the sections and handled the recruitment of foreign Communists for the Comintern training centers in the Soviet Union. The Bureaus were especially responsible for directing the illegal Party apparatus in their revolutionary actions within various countries.

Comintern Representatives -- men who had great power and prestige for every party concerned -- were frequently assigned to a given country or area with fullest powers to supervise the carrying out of Comintern decisions. As a general rule, these representatives were persons who were not native to the area of their assignment. Available information reflects the fact that practically all Communist Parties of any importance during the period from 1919 until at least the outbreak of World War II consistently received, deferred to, and followed the instructions of a succession of Comintern representatives dispatched directly to them by the Executive Committee. In addition, Comintern instructors might be sent out to handle specific supervisory and advisory functions.

One example of the work of a Comintern representative is found in the activity of the German Communist, Arthur Ewert. Under the alias Harry Berger, Ewert was sent as a Comintern Representative to guide and integrate the revolutionary military organization of the Communist Party of Brazil. This operation culminated in 1935 in an unsuccessful Communist military revolt against the Brazilian Government. Captured documents subsequently proved that Ewert's position in connection with this revolt was one of controlling importance as the direct representative of the Comintern. Arrested by Brazilian authorities, Ewert was not released until 1945; in 1947 he returned to East Berlin where a Communist newspaper welcomed him back as a "tried and tested fighter against imperialist war and fascism."

In addition to its contributions to the operational pattern of international Communism today, the Comintern also fulfilled the important function of developing foreign Communist Party leaders. It is doubtful that there is today a Communist Party of any significance whose national leadership does not include one or several members previously active in the Cominform headquarters organization or field service, and/or trained in the Comintern schools. Following the dissolution of the Comintern and the end of World War II, the CPSU desired the national parties to be guided by the most experienced Communist leaders. Some of those in the Latin America area were:

Rodolfo GHIOLDI, former member of the Comintern Executive Committee (ECCI), became member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina

Luis Carlos PRESTES, former ECCI member, became Secretary General of the Communist Party of Brazil

F. W. CALDERIO, alias Blas ROCA, former ECCI member, became Secretary General of the Partido Socialista Popular of Cuba

Victorio CODOVILA, former chief of the Comintern's Latin American Secretariat, became a member of the Central Committee and Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina

Carlos CONTRERAS LABARCA, believed active in the Comintern's auxiliary organization the Red International of Labor Unions, became Secretary General of the Communist Party of Chile

Eugenio GOMEZ, former ECCI member, became Secretary General of the Communist Party of Uruguay

Gustavo MACHADO-MORALES, who lived in the USSR for many years and was a member of the Latin American and Caribbean Bureau, became Secretary of the Partido Comunista de Venezuela

In addition, many other Communists from the Latin America area are known to have been active at Comintern headquarters and several more are known to have undergone extensive training in the Comintern schools. That they have not been identified subsequently with Party activities attests to the security measures surrounding the illegal apparatus of the Latin American Communist Parties.

II. The Operational Pattern of Indirect Intervention by the CPSU in Latin American Communist Party Affairs After World War II: the Cominform

In the period after World War II, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has employed a variety of indirect, camouflaged operational methods for controlling and coordinating International Communism. The CPSU has created a series of new operational front mechanisms which are so constituted as to enable the CPSU to conceal its leading and controlling role.

A special method of CPSU direction today of individual Communist Parties is provided by the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), with its weekly journal, "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!" The Cominform organizations, composed of the Communist Parties of the USSR, Satellites, France and Italy, is a streamlined version of the Comintern. The Cominform journal, published in Bucharest and printed in 19 languages, carries the directives of the CPSU to Communist Parties throughout the world. These Communist Parties know that the journal speaks with the authoritative voice of Moscow and understand that no article, even by a foreign Communist leader, is printed without Soviet approval. Actual control of the Cominform and its journal is exercised by a special secret apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the CPSU promotes the fiction that it is merely an affiliate of the Cominform.

In Latin America, as elsewhere, the journal of the Cominform is regarded by Communist Parties as a continuing source of authoritative directives concerning the international Communist line as formulated by the CPSU. It is used by them as a guide to action. Latin American Parties not only distribute copies directly to their members, but many official organs of these Parties repeatedly cite and reprint selected articles from the journal as special guides to action. That the CPSU desires that Latin American Communists who are not formal members of the Cominform should receive these directives is clearly shown in the fact that the journal is published in a separate Spanish-language edition which is shipped in large quantities, and by various and devious means, to Latin America. Distribution channels are determined by the extent of local controls against Communist propaganda. To avoid censorship of sea shipments, many copies are air mailed. Sometimes Cominform journals for Latin American countries are mailed from countries in Western Europe to avoid showing Bucharest as the point of origin.

An example of regard for the journal as a source of authoritative directives is shown by the clandestine action taken by the Communist Party of Cuba -- deceptively called the Popular Socialist Party -- in order to disseminate the Cominform directives to Party members in Cuba and the Caribbean area. To effect the illegal re-transmittal of the Cominform journal's information, instructions and directives, the Popular Socialist Party publishes and distributes a readily-concealed,

Spanish-language pocket-edition of the journal, selecting for reproduction those journal articles deemed most significant. To illustrate the selections made by the Cuban Party, a pocket-edition of April 1955 included reprints of articles from several previous Cominform journals. Among these was one emphasizing that the CPSU is the most powerful and authoritative Communist Party in the world and the model for all Communist Parties; another pointed out that Leninism is the ideological weapon of all Communist Parties; still another cited the Chinese revolution as an example of applying Leninism to concrete conditions; and finally several reprints proclaimed that the United States heads all the forces preparing for war. Such themes became the basis for Party indoctrination.

Latin American Communist Parties not only accept the guidance of the CPSU, as published in the Cominform journal, but also take action in keeping with that guidance. For example, the Communist Party of Brazil has this year widely disseminated certain revolutionary lessons of the CPSU which appeared in the Cominform journal, issue of 28 January 1955. In a February issue of the Brazilian Party's organ, Voz Operaria, these CPSU revolutionary directives were called of major importance and particularly illuminating for Brazil as the road to be followed by the Communist Party of Brazil in the struggle for its program. Party members were told to study these lessons. Voz Operaria then undertook to publish articles relating the 1905-1907 revolutionary lessons

of the CPSU to the Brazilian labor movement. In April, an issue of the Cominform journal was pleased to note the extensive actions taken by the Brazilian Party.

A national Communist Party in Latin America will also recommend to its members certain CPSU materials regarding organizational matters which appear in the Cominform journal, and then take organizational action itself on the basis of these materials. The Communist Party of Guatemala afforded an example of this follow-up. In October 1952, when the 19th Congress of the CPSU was in session in Moscow, the Guatemalan Party was preparing for its own forthcoming 2nd Congress. In preparation for this, it recommended to its members that they study certain texts on the rules of the Soviet Party and advised them that these materials were available in two previous issues of the Cominform journal. Subsequently, the Guatemalan Party followed the CPSU not only in its preparations for its own 2nd Congress, but also in the organizational action taken at that Congress, such as the creation of the Secretariat of the Central Committee. A Guatemalan Party leader later noted that....."to the fact that we held the 2nd Congress of the Party a few weeks after the 19th Congress of the CPSU, the materials of which were most valuable to us in our work, we owe the correctness.....of our Congress."

The Cominform journal plays a real role in exerting CPSU guidance upon the programs adopted by national Communist Parties. In Latin

America this has been very evident during the last two years. Few non-Cominform member Communist Parties, and no other Communist Parties in Latin America, have ever seen their respective programs given as much continuing, approving attention as that given to the Communist Party of Brazil's Program in the Cominform press during 1954 and 1955. Other Communist Parties in Latin America quickly recognized the authoritative stamp of approval of the CPSU-Cominform. Many such parties have taken steps toward the formulation of a new Program, adapted to local national conditions but reflecting programmatic, strategic and tactical principles which are in essence the same as those of the new Brazilian Program. Such steps were undertaken only after the extensive circulation and endorsement of the Brazilian Program initiated in January 1954 in the Cominform journal. A detailed discussion of these developments follows.

III. The Operational Pattern of Indirect Intervention by the CPSU in Latin American Communist Party Affairs. Use of CP Brazil as a Model for other Latin American CPs.

The uniformity of Communist Party policies throughout Latin America is no accident. It is the direct effect of a tested operational pattern employed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the past 35 years. In its present aspect it involves seeking support from nationalistic business and middle class elements for a concentrated attack on the United States.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in order to achieve uniformity of Communist action in a large geographic area, likes to use a strong and relatively mature Communist Party in that area as a relay channel for its directives to other Communist Parties operating in that region. This method reinforces other existing control media. In Latin America it is evident that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has chosen the Brazilian CP to act as its mouthpiece for the benefit of other CPs. The particular overt method chosen--and there are secret corollaries to this method--was to develop a new political program of the CP Brazil which was in line with the thinking of CPSU, and then to direct other Communist Parties in Latin America--for example, in Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela--to adopt official programs similar to that of the Brazilian Communist Party.

The Brazilian program, which was officially adopted at the National Communist Party Congress in November 1954, is a lengthy document which emphasizes that priority should be given to the problem of liquidating North American interests in Brazil, and that Brazilian business elements (the "national bourgeoisie" in Communist terminology) should be accepted as allies in this effort. Its principal points have been itemized under four headings by Diogenes Arruda Camara, one of the highest Brazilian Communist officials. Arruda lists these points as follows:

First, the program does not inveigh against all imperialisms, but only against United States imperialism. Arruda states that this makes it possible to "make use of the contradictions existing between the imperialists" and to neutralize, or make temporary allies of, the Brazilian capitalists who are linked with non-U.S. imperialism. Subsequently, "after United States imperialism is disposed of" the Brazilian government can face the other imperialist powers and the nation's foreign policy will be changed so that it "will join the anti-imperialist and pacific camp led by the glorious Soviet Union." The seizure of all United States investments and enterprises will have provided the government with "control over the key sectors of the economy," and "helped by the USSR and the peoples' democracies, it will forge ahead with the nation's economic development."

Second, the program does not call for the nationalization of all land, but merely for the confiscation of the lands of the large landholders, and their division among the peasants. Arruda calls these "the just demands of the agricultural populace" and states that the Communists will thus be able to win over--or at least neutralize--the rich and middle class farmers while securing the allegiance of the landless peasants who can solidify the party's alliance in rural areas.

Third, the program does not require the confiscation of banks, businesses, or capital of the wealthy class of Brazil. Only the enterprises of those Brazilians who ally themselves with the United States will be confiscated. This approach, according to Arruda, will weaken and divide the bloc of big Brazilian capitalists and American imperialists, and thus "to unite with the national bourgeoisie is an important part of the party line." Brazilian business men and capitalists can make their choice, says Arruda: "if they march with the popular forces or remain neutral, their interests will be guaranteed, but if they place the interests of the American imperialists above those of Brazil, their property will be confiscated and turned over to the peoples' courts."

Fourth, the program sets out the method of establishing a "popular democratic government of national liberation." This will be a coalition of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces--the working class, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party. The formation of such an alliance, declares Arruda, will lead to the conquest of political power, which is "the fundamental problem of any revolution," and "to isolate ourselves and fold our hands like spectators is political suicide our duty is to cooperate with all those who wish to cooperate with us."

In the formulation of their program, the Brazilian Communist leaders have openly acknowledged the guidance of the Soviet Communist Party, and have stated that:

"It is our duty to recognize that we are able to prepare a document of the scope of the program only because the party follows unconditionally the world Communist movement and remains completely loyal to its inspirer and guide, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Furthermore, Brazilian Communists have been told that the Cominform has authoritatively pronounced the program to be "a work of creative Marxism" and that they should thus consider it "a sacred duty to subordinate all their activities to the demands of the program and to devote their lives to its accomplishment."

The Soviet guidance in the preparation of the Brazilian program can be traced back through more than two years of continuous prompting. If one turns to the Soviet newspaper Pravda for 26 March 1952, one finds an early instance. There a Soviet theoretician indicated that an attack on American imperialism (rather than capitalism or imperialism in general) should be the primary aim of the Communists in Brazil, and that the native Brazilian capitalists might be used as allies in the struggle against the United States. Subsequently, in October 1952, two high leaders of the Brazilian Communist Party (including Diogenes Arruda Camara) attended the 19th Soviet Communist Party Congress in Moscow, and shortly thereafter the Brazilian Party line was developed further in the theoretical Soviet journal Kommunist. In this analysis, detailed information was presented concerning the activities of various American "imperialist" enterprises in Brazil--which we may assume represent Communist targets. As in the final program, the Kommunist article recommended that only American property should be confiscated in Brazil, while native capitalists, industrialists, and businessmen--

"all those who hate foreign competition"--should be encouraged to join in the Communist effort to build a "peoples' democratic government."

The publication of this article in an important theoretical journal of the Soviet Communist Party certainly represents official Soviet Communist approval of its content, and further developments in the formulation of the program, as they occurred in Brazil, were given continuous coverage in the Cominform journal, where they could be read throughout Latin America. Consistently, the Brazilian Communists have paid tribute to the leadership of the Soviets and have in turn, been praised for their accomplishments. Thus the 10 December 1954 issue of the Cominform journal carried an article in which the Soviet Communist Party congratulated the Brazilian party on its anti-American activities and wished the party success in training party members in the spirit of loyalty towards Communism." In the same issue, the Brazilian Communists assured the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of their "unflagging loyalty and boundless devotion," and vowed that the Brazilian people would never participate in a war against the Soviet Union.

The significance of Soviet approval of the Brazilian Communist program has not been lost on the other Latin American Communist parties. Uruguayan Communist leaders, for example, were present as fraternal delegates at the Brazilian Party congress and are studying

the Brazilian program in preparation for their own congress. The Colombian Communists have drafted a program which reflects the essential features of the Brazilian one, and Colombian Communist leaders have paid the same homage to Brazilian guidance that the Brazilians have accorded the Soviets. The Venezuelan Communists, operating illegally, have reprinted for circulation in the Caribbean area the entire Brazilian program, pointing out that it represents "a new stage in the application of Marxism to the conditions obtaining in Latin America, where the people have the same enemy--U. S. imperialism--and generally similar economic, social, and political problems."

The advantage which the Communists hope to gain from concentrating their fire on American "imperialism" and by courting allies among Latin American business elements is obvious. By stimulating the nationalists, anti-Yankee sentiment which is present to some degree in every country, and by bringing non-Communist, nationalistic pressure to bear on the various Latin American governments--now generally pro-American--they can not only weaken and discredit American interests, but can create an atmosphere in which their own persecution will be more difficult. Thus, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been using the Brazilian CP for lining up other Latin American CPs on a general action policy towards the exacerbation and ultimate

incendiary exploitation of political and economic tension, existing between the United States and Latin American countries. This action policy is so conceived as to promote the deception of certain nationalistic and business elements which fail to see the long range and revolutionary purposes of this tactic as well as the threat which exists in the presence of well trained Communist cadres. If nationalistic elements can be prompted into attacking the United States, it will enable the Communists to better infiltrate and to better disguise their own responsibility in the anti-U.S. campaign, and would also permit the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in turn to disclaim responsibility. These nationalist elements, however, are considered only as temporary allies by the Communists, whose leaders pride themselves on remaining "completely loyal to....the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." If the Communists should be able to achieve their objectives, i.e., to create Communist controlled coalition governments, those nationalists who should fail to accept the foreign policy of such governments would soon find themselves isolated or facing the judgement of a "people's court."

At the present time, in summary, the Communists in Latin America are prepared to concentrate on a campaign against American "imperialism." There is no indication that, since the "Summit" meeting, they have

altered their immediate policies or have changed their ultimate objective of establishing pro-Soviet "peoples' democracies" in Latin America, each to be controlled by a hard core of trained Communists belonging to an interlocking, international, Communist directorate.

It is to be expected, of course, that the Latin American Communists will not alter their policies unless--and until--they receive further guidance from Moscow. For this guidance, we may look forward to the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, scheduled to be held in February 1956. The significance of this congress in determining the future Communist policy has already been heralded in the Brazilian Communist newspaper Voz Operaria (23 July 1955) which states that "the Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provide models for the Communist parties of all the world," and reiterates that the Nineteenth Soviet Party Congress "illuminated the road of the Brazilian Communists and exercised extraordinary influence on the program and statutes of the Brazilian party."

IV. The Operational Pattern of Indirect Intervention by the CPSU
in Latin America: the International Communist Front Organizations

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union controls thirteen major international front organizations through which it extends its influence into practically every country of the free world. These international front organizations are huge interlocking directorates which link the CPSU to the vast network of national front organizations which are, in turn, operated by local Communist Parties. The international front organizations further create special international ad hoc bodies for special events and circumstances, thus increasing their already vast capabilities for infiltration and subversion of almost every sphere of human activity. The story of the Communist front organizations has been told so often that we are apt to forget that they represent a highly unique phenomenon, as unique, for example, as if our Republican or Democratic Party were operating all over the world under the cover of clubs for pigeon fanciers for the purpose of making Republicans or Democrats out of the inhabitants of, let us say, France or Ceylon.

Yet, that is exactly what the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is doing. The international front organizations, which it controls through its own representatives sitting right in the headquarters of these international fronts, have one purpose: to draw as many social groups as possible closer to the Communist Party and make them amenable to the global aims of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Hence,

the international front organizations operate along functional lines. They set up facades for people that are for peace -- the World Peace Council. They set up facades for labor, youth, women, lawyers, veterans, scientists, journalists, international traders, etc. They proclaim lofty and humanitarian purposes in order to sweeten their appeal. But when we look behind the glittering scenery, we see the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the great stage manager of this international show.

The story of the international front organizations described in the following pages is repetitious. The pattern of their operations is repetitious. But in the repetitious pattern the guiding plan of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is evident.

IV A. International "Peace" Fronts for the Subversion of Society as a Whole

People have always yearned for peace and, consequently, have not usually questioned the bona fides of any group claiming to work for so good a cause. The CPSU realized this in 1932 when it created and controlled through the Comintern the "Committee Against War and Fascism." Unlike the other fronts that focused their attention on special sectors of society, this first international Communist "peace" front sought to transform the peoples of the World into ardent supporters of USSR's foreign policy objectives. Being merely a "tool" of the CPSU, it was disbanded along with the Comintern in 1943 when the CPSU wanted to prove its "good faith" to its wartime allies.

This disbandment was, however, only temporary. Less than a year after the CPSU created the Cominform, it also took steps to organize a more appealing and more universal international Communist "peace" front to subvert world society as a whole. By April 1949 at a World Peace Congress in Paris, it succeeded in formally founding its worldwide Partisans of Peace Movement. This front was later more innocuously renamed the World Peace Council.

1. The World Peace Council (WPC)

This World Peace Council, as it is called today, is in effect a "super-front" because through it the CPSU coordinates and controls the spurious "peace" activities of all the other major international

Communist fronts, as well as those of its own "peace" fronts in each country.

The World Peace Council was originally headquartered in Paris until the French Government issued a decree in January 1951 expelling it from France because of its subversive activities. The headquarters were then relocated in the Soviet Sector of Vienna where this Communist peace front could operate freely under the protection and control of the CPSU and still maintain an aura of respectability. It has recently lost this protection with the signing of the Austrian Treaty and may ultimately be forced to move its headquarters behind the Iron Curtain.

As of July 1956 the World Peace Council is composed of 443 members from 72 countries, 67 of which come from 13 Latin American countries. (Argentina - 11; Bolivia - 1; Brazil - 19; Chile - 7; Colombia - 5; Costa Rica - 1; Cuba - 8; Ecuador - 2; Guatemala - 4; Mexico - 5; Paraguay - 1; Uruguay - 1 and Venezuela - 2). This not only constitutes almost one sixth of the total number of members on the Council but also indicates the importance this front attaches to extending Communist control over this important area since there are eleven more Latin Americans on the Council than members from Soviet bloc countries. However, because of the great preponderance of Communists on the Council, the 56 Soviet bloc members have no difficulty in controlling and running this organization. Most of these 67 Latin Americans on the Council have

served one or more previous terms and are important leaders of the Communist Parties and Communist front organizations in their respective countries.

The governing body of this Council is the Executive Bureau which is composed of 20 members, 11 of whom are officers and militant Communists. These World Peace Council leaders are also key officials of the other major international Communist fronts and constitute an interlocking directorate which enables the World Peace Council to control and coordinate their activities, as well as those of its own local peace fronts. Thus, for example, Executive Bureau officials include the presidents of the Communist women's, lawyers and scientists' fronts, the secretary general of the Communist labor front and the ex-president of the Communist youth front.

Under the direction of the Executive Bureau, the Secretariat of the World Peace Council operating from its headquarters in Vienna translates the CPSU's current lines on all international issues into "peace" lines tailored to fit the special conditions existing in different countries and in different areas of the world. It does so in the various bulletins, magazines and directives it regularly sends out to all its local peace fronts and fellow international Communist fronts. It also organizes and coordinates the various regional and international "peace" congresses and special campaigns designed to stimulate greater

interest in and support for Soviet objectives. Many of these regional congresses have resulted in the creation of permanent regional groups concentrating on securing mass support for specific Soviet policies in those areas. Among these are the Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem that has sought to marshal united opposition to German rearmament, the London-Paris Agreement and to NATO; the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions that has endeavored to weaken Asia and make her more vulnerable to Communist subversion by disseminating strong anti-Western propaganda and by campaigning against Japanese rearmament and SEATO; and the Nordic Peace Secretariat which also attempts to arouse opposition to NATO and German rearmament. In addition, the World Peace Council has produced two other related world Communist fronts: the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade as a means of promoting world peace and the World Congress of Doctors as a group that would disseminate propaganda giving ostensibly objective medical viewpoints on the consequences of atomic and bacteriological warfare on human beings.

Latin Americans have played a prominent role in the annual Council Meetings and the various World Peace Congresses since the founding ones held concurrently in Paris and Prague in 1949, e.g., the November 1950 Warsaw Congress, the December 1952 Vienna Congress and, most recently the June 1955 Helsinki World Peace Assembly. Latin Americans have also played an active part in supporting various worldwide signature campaigns

for abolition of atomic weapons and all methods of mass destruction.

But most important of all in terms of organizing national peace movements in Latin America were the three hemispheric conferences that were held in this area. The First American Continental Congress for Peace, as it was called, had as its aim to maintain the fiction that it was a non-Communist peace movement motivated by humanitarian ideals and supported by liberals, pacifists and intellectuals of all nations and also to present the USSR as the champion of world peace in contrast to the "aggressive, imperialistic nations" of the West. This Congress established the pattern for the organization of national peace movements and for future Congresses. The Second American Continental Peace Conference was finally held in Montevideo in March 1951 as a series of simultaneous, private meetings in the fear that the Uruguayan Government might attempt to ban this Conference. The most ambitious and, from the Communist point of view, the most successful of these hemispheric meetings was the Continental Cultural Congress which was held in Santiago, Chile, 26 April to 2 May 1953. While its sponsors claimed it would explore means of safeguarding principles of peace, examine the problems of national cultures, popularize achievements in the realms of science and art and unify the efforts of the representatives of the cultural world with progressive social movements, this Continental Cultural Congress actually sought to destroy hemispheric strength and unity by trying to make Latin Americans cut all ties with the U.S. and Great Britain. To accomplish this, the U.S. and Great Britain were

attacked in the most vituperative fashion and foully accused of undermining the national culture of each country and of exploiting the people in this area. Leading the attack on the U. S. was A. Fadayev, Chairman of the Soviet Writers Union and one of the CPSU's principal propagandists.

These hemisphere peace meetings all used the following tactics to gain new adherents in this area. They inveigled non-Communist personages of liberal and pacifist leanings in each country to serve as sponsors for these meetings and thus camouflage their actual Communist character. They publicized the lofty and broad generalities such "sponsors" made about the need for peace, national cultural development and "independence," etc., and more or less restricted the vituperative attacks on the U.S. and the Western world to delegates from the Soviet Union. They disseminated only those resolutions, decisions or conclusions which were thoroughly in accord with the international Communist line. They "elected" those officers who had been decided upon in advance and permitted only such opposition to manifest itself as was relatively innocuous and which would give the meeting a semblance of being "impartial" and representative of all shades of opinion.

These meetings as well as the World Peace Council's international congresses and campaigns, have resulted in the growth and development of national "peace" fronts in all but a very few Latin American Republics where the governments have thwarted any efforts to create such organizations.

These national "peace" fronts are guided and directed by hard-core Communists who use every device to disguise the Communist character of such fronts and to convince well-intentioned non-Communists that they can effectively work for world peace and for social, economic, political and cultural betterment by joining such fronts. The public is almost constantly exposed to some form of its insidious and spurious peace propaganda through the constant flow of such material in Spanish from the World Peace Council's international headquarters and through the propaganda of all the Communist fronts in each country.

How spurious such Communist "peace" propaganda really is can be seen from an excerpt from a pamphlet published by the Soviet Ministry of Defense on March 20, 1954 which states:

"...Whilst carrying on a struggle for peace, Communists are not, however, pacifists who sigh for peace and limit themselves to propaganda for peace. They consider that in order to remove the inevitability of wars, it is necessary to destroy imperialism. Communists link the cause of peace with the cause of the proletarian revolution (i.e. Communist revolution), considering that the surest means of doing away with wars and of establishing permanent, just peace is the overthrow of the power of the imperialistic bourgeoisie.

"The bourgeois-pacifist attitude towards war which stresses the 'horrors' of war and inculcates hatred of all wars is alien to us. Communists are against imperialistic wars as being counter-revolutionary wars, but they are in favor of liberating, anti-imperialist, revolutionary wars." (V. Cheprakov, The Militarization of the Countries of the North Atlantic Bloc)

Thus, through the national "peace", women's, labor, youth, cultural, lawyers, scientists, doctors, teachers, trade and other Communist fronts in Latin America, the CPSU is doing everything possible to secure a broad united front of all people in this area against the U. S. and the Western

world and for the USSR and Soviet foreign policies. It seeks to do this by calling on all Latin Americans to unite to defend their fine national cultures and their countries from corruption and exploitation by the U. S. and the Western world in order to weaken alliances and regional groupings for the mutual defense of this hemisphere. They also try to persuade or cajole Latin American countries into closer trade relations with those of the Soviet bloc and to have them sever trade relations with the U. S., particularly concerning items of strategic or critical importance. On the other hand, the CPSU seeks through the coordinated efforts of its network of national front organizations to convince the Latin American populace that the Soviet Union is the international champion of world peace and of the worker, the peasant, the poor and the oppressed.

But while the World Peace Council and all Communist fronts constantly seek to organize a free world pressure group against Western defense preparations and Western collective security measures, in the Communist-controlled countries these fronts exhort the people to work harder in building up armaments "for the defense of peace." This is clearly illustrated by the following quotation from Prace, the official journal of the Czechoslovak trade unions, which stated on March 28, 1952:

"...a strike in a capitalist country is a very effective way of fighting for peace since it aims at paralyzing war production and the transport of arms. But here (in the Soviet Orbit) it is a question of building up the greatest possible strength in the shortest possible time. To put the arms of outstanding quality which we produce in the hands of the defenders of peace, into the hands of our People's Army, that is an act of peace."

2. The Committee for the Promotion of International Trade (CPIT)

A review of the operations of international Communist front organizations in Latin America would be incomplete without consideration of the purposes and activities of the recently-born offsprung of the World Peace Council, namely the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade (CPIT).

This new front organization was conceived by the World Peace Council at its meeting in East Berlin in February 1951 when it was decided to broaden the scope of the WPC's activities into the economic sphere. This decision was in anticipation of an International Economic Conference to be held in Moscow.

Plans for this expansion of the WPC's program were embodied in a "Resolution on the Expansion and Organization of the Peace Movement" which, in addition to the Moscow meeting, called for special organization on a world-wide basis and for the creation of regional conferences including one specifically in Latin America. It also called for the closest collaboration with existing international front organizations and for bringing businessmen as well as intellectuals into a concerted East-west trade campaign.

The spade-work for the creation of these conferences and for the creation of national committees for the promotion of international trade

was performed by the national peace councils, aided and abetted as much as possible by affiliates of the youth, labor and professional front organizations.

As usual the alleged purpose of this international Communist front was phrased in high-sounding terms, such as "to aid...in expanding trade between countries on a basis of equality and with due regard to the needs of industrialization of underdeveloped countries." A later resolution of the governing body of the CPIT, however partially disclosed its true aims, as follows:

"The work of the Committee should concentrate on explaining to public opinion the necessity for removing the various embargoes, discriminations and other obstacles to the development of trade between all countries."

Robert Chambeiron, organizer and secretary-general of the CPIT and one of the leading figures in the World Peace Council and in the World Communist Movement made the statement of general aims even more explicit by emphasizing in the December 1954 issue of the CPIT's Bulletin that

"When one speaks of discrimination, reference is usually made to the measures taken in the application of the American Battle Act (restrictions on strategic goods) or the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution which covers more particularly trade with China...."

Thus the true aims of the CPIT become eminently clear. They are

to propagandize businessmen in free countries into supporting the view that strategic embargoes and other trade controls placed by the Western governments on export trade as a result of the Korean war are unfair and hamper normal profitable trade. At the same time they hope to persuade some foreign traders to divert some of their essential raw materials to the advantage of the Soviet. This lure of profits in trade with the East, they also hope, will enlist private businessmen on their side in the Soviet Union's program for the so-called "relaxation of international tensions" and other Communist peace motifs. This was well exemplified at the Moscow Economic Conference which was held in April 1953.

All this is also part of the international Communist tactic of utilizing the profit motive inherent in capitalism for the eventual destruction of capitalism itself.

3. The CPIT in Latin America

Latin America was one of the major targets of the CPIT world-wide campaign and, under the auspices of the WPC, plans were made for the establishment of national CPIT's in the major hemisphere countries. At the present time, locals of the CPIT are operating in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico.

A well written and attractively presented bi-monthly publication

called "Intercambio" is published in Argentina but designed to serve Latin American traders generally, and smaller similar publications are printed in the other Latin American countries. These publications feature the advantages of trade with the USSR, Red China and other countries in the Soviet Bloc. They lose no opportunity, of course, of hammering away at American "dollar imperialism" and U. S. trade restrictions.

Conferences for the promotion of international trade have been held under CPIT auspices in the several hemisphere countries in which it operates and some Latin American businessmen have been persuaded to participate in "trade fairs" behind the iron-curtain. Examples of these fairs are the international trade fair at Leipzig in 1952, and the one held this past July in Poznan, Poland.

4. The International Trade Conference in Argentina

The largest single event planned by the CPIT to take place in Latin America was the world-wide trade conference which was scheduled to be held in Buenos Aires 17-22 June 1955.

This conference was sponsored by the Argentine local of the CPIT, the "Comision Argentina Pro Fomento del Intercambio" (CAFI) but following its inaugural session the conference was interrupted by the political disorders in Buenos Aires, and was never reconvened.

The abrupt ending of the conference did not, however, prevent some of the major business of the conference from being undertaken. Delegations from the Latin American republics were called on personally by CAFTI leaders and representatives of the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Communist China. Reports of these meetings indicate that they were necessarily informal, but that the Latin American delegations were asked to report on the development of their respective trade promotion associations, and on the attitudes toward trade between their countries and those of the Communist bloc. Several of the Communist bloc representatives including those from China invited Latin American trade delegations to visit their home country and indicated that the visits would be at least partially financed by the host country. The Chinese representative apparently emphasized the fact that such visits would contribute greatly to the easing of international tensions and the lifting of trade barriers.

5. Other CPIT visits to Latin America

On several other occasions top officials of the CPIT and the WPC have visited Latin America to organize and stimulate the program. As we know, most of these front organization leaders are unquestionably Communists but seem to have deluded some trade circles into the feeling

of "So what? They are coming here for trade purposes; not for political or subversive purpose. If we're going to deal with Communist bloc countries of course we'll have to meet with Communists." The great number of Latin American traders, however, were apprehensive as to the true purposes of the visits, and they refused to be drawn into discussions about Communist trade offers.

One visit worth noting is that of Chambeiron to Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires in May 1952. At that time, among other things, he spoke well of the organization and work of the Brazilian Communist Party and announced that he intended to take along with him as his traveling companion, Jorge Amado, the well-known Brazilian Communist leader who is also an outstanding figure in international Communist circles.

6. Evaluation of CPIT's Efforts in Latin America

The Communists, as might be expected, have made highly optimistic estimates about the success of their newly launched international front for foreign trade.

More objective and unprejudiced views about the CPIT's operations in Latin America may be summed up as follows:

1. It has been a useful propaganda adjunct to the World Peace Council and has been able to reach at least a part of an audience not previously covered by Communist fronts: the private, largely middle-class businessman interested in foreign trade.

- b. By and large it appears to have obtained few converts to the "come our way and prosper" line.
- c. It seems to have had no serious effect upon normal United States - Latin American trade relations.
- d. In the light of the newer tone of Soviet foreign policy and the increasing emphasis upon restoration of normal trade relations between East and West, CPIT may be expected to increase its propaganda and trade inducement efforts during the next year.

IV B. International Fronts for Subversion of Labor

1. The World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.)

The Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) is the international front organization through which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) coordinates its propaganda and tactics in the field of labor in Latin America, and elsewhere in the free world.

Characteristic of its role as a front organization, the W.F.T.U. pretends to be "democratic" and "independent." It has never openly identified itself as a Communist organization, but professes to represent the interests of all workers, regardless of political or religious belief.

Consisting of a headquarters in Vienna, regional liaison bureaus, and affiliated trade union organizations, the W.F.T.U. claims a world membership exceeding eighty million. Its actual numerical strength, which in any case is concentrated in Soviet/Satellite countries (U.S.S.R. - forty million; China - eleven million, etc.), is probably much smaller than the claim. In 1953, the affiliates of the W.F.T.U. in Latin American countries claimed a membership of approximately 1,800,000, but this figure is believed to be vastly inflated.

Nevertheless, the W.F.T.U. constitutes a threat to the stability of non-Communist governments. It will be recalled that it was at the W.F.T.U. - sponsored Asian and Australasian Trade Union Conference, held in Peking in 1949, that the "armed struggle" was proclaimed as the policy to be followed by Communist Parties in many of the Asian countries.

The present tactics of the W.F.T.U., and its affiliated organizations in the free world, call for the establishment of "united action" with non-Communist trade union organizations for the attainment of such non-revolutionary objectives as "peace" (never clearly defined, but always identical with C.P.S.U. foreign policy goals); the banning of weapons of mass destruction; the protection of trade union and democratic rights (from one's own increasingly fascist government); and particularly in Latin America, the "struggle against Yankee imperialism" to which most of the ills of the population are usually attributed.

The W.F.T.U.'s present non-revolutionary program should be considered as purely tactical. It should not be understood to mean that the W.F.T.U. will continue indefinitely and everywhere to fight for non-revolutionary objectives. Even now there are indications that the W.F.T.U. program for Communist labor includes greater militancy and strike action.

2. C.P.S.U. Control of the W.F.T.U.

The W.F.T.U. is closely controlled by the C.P.S.U.: directly, by control of W.F.T.U. funds, by Soviet occupation of supervisory posts in the W.F.T.U. Secretariat, and by the physical control over communications into Vienna; and indirectly, by C.P.S.U. control of the international Communist movement.

The permanent administrative body of the W.F.T.U. is its secretariat located in Vienna. Key positions within this office have always been occupied by Soviet officials who have been trained and associated with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. These persons are in almost daily contact with Moscow, from whence come the directives which establish the pattern of operations within the W.F.T.U. complex. Since the W.F.T.U.'s bank account is kept in the Soviet Military Bank in Vienna, the financial activities of the W.F.T.U. are also under Soviet control. Most of the W.F.T.U.'s income comes from trade unions in the Soviet/Satellite countries, where trade unions are simply obedient instruments of government. According to the Austrian publication Johns Zensur of 26 August 1955, the W.F.T.U. received annually some 18,000,000 schillings from the Soviet and Chinese trade unions via the account at the Soviet Military Bank.

3. The Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L.)

The W.F.T.U. operates in Latin America through two channels: The Confederation of Workers of Latin America (C.T.A.L. = Confederacion des Trabajadores de la America Latina), its regional liaison bureau; and through the affiliation of individual Latin American unions with the Trade Union Internationals (Trade Departments) of the W.F.T.U. The C.T.A.L. in Mexico City is the more important channel.

The C.T.A.L. was established as the "body linking and coordinating the World Federation of Trade Unions and the National Centers of Latin America" at a meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. which was held in Paris in February 1949.

The functions of the W.F.T.U. liaison bureaus (there is also an Asian and Australasian Liaison Bureau, and two others have been proposed) were outlined at a meeting of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau which met in Peking in November 1949. Among the principal functions were the followings:

- a. To assist the trade union organizations to explain and carry out W.F.T.U. decisions.
- b. To propagandize the aims and objectives of the W.F.T.U., and to circulate information on its activity.
- c. To keep the W.F.T.U. informed on the development of the trade union movement in the countries concerned.

The C.T.A.L., as the regional liaison bureau of the W.F.T.U., coordinates W.F.T.U. policy with its affiliates in Latin America.

The headquarters of the C.T.A.L. is located in Mexico City. Its president, Vicente LOMBARDO Toledano, is a frequent visitor to the U.S.S.R., his most recent trip being to attend the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. held in Moscow in May 1955.

The C.T.A.L. has an interlocking directorate with that of the W.F.T.U. Vicente LOMBARDO Toledano, in addition to being president of the C.T.A.L., is also a vice president of the W.F.T.U., and, as of 1953, two vice presidents of the C.T.A.L. were also vice presidents

of the W.F.T.U.

It is also noteworthy that in a number of Latin American countries the leaders of the C.T.A.L. affiliates are identical with the leaders of the Communist Parties.

The C.T.A.L. is constantly encountering financial difficulties. Most of its affiliated trade union centers are weak and do not seem to be able to contribute any financial support.

The C.T.A.L. is known to have requested funds from the W.F.T.U. on a number of occasions, and in most instances the W.F.T.U. seems to have complied with the request.

The W.F.T.U. has consistently defrayed the expenses of Latin American Communist labor officials travelling to the Soviet/Satellite countries, and of delegates to its international meetings, and has provided the funds for the regional conferences which have been sponsored by the C.T.A.L.

4. W.F.T.U. Propaganda in Latin America

The principal publication of the W.F.T.U. is the World Trade Union Movement, published monthly in ten languages.

The Spanish language edition of the publication is prepared in Mexico City at the headquarters of the C.T.A.L., which also arranges the distribution throughout the other Latin American countries. This edition is completely financed by the W.F.T.U.

There is also a Portuguese edition of the publication, which is published in Brazil. According to a W.F.T.U. statement, this edition had a monthly circulation of 2,500 copies in 1953.

Most of the articles in the World Trade Union Movement deal with developments in Western and under-developed areas of the world and are, needless to say, highly critical of conditions in these countries. A smaller number of articles dealing with Communist countries are lyrical in tone.

The photographs and cartoons follow the same pattern, showing misery, riots and cruelty in the West, contrasted with pleasant conditions and smiling faces in Communist countries.

The W.F.T.U. publications, especially its periodical, are important to the C.P.S.U. both as a propaganda media and as a means of keeping trade unionists throughout the world informed on the current tactics to be pursued in trade union work and related activities. The work of coordinating and editing W.F.T.U. publications is done at W.F.T.U. headquarters in Vienna in consultation with Soviet officials in the Palace of Labor in Moscow.

5. International Meetings.

One of the more important functions of the W.F.T.U. Secretariat is the arranging and technical planning of its international trade union meetings. Such functions include procuring of meeting places,

transportation, interpreters and translators, financial arrangements, including the subsidization of national delegates, and for advance publicity. Hardly a month passes without a W.F.T.U. gathering of some sort.

Such meetings, while largely of a propaganda nature, are important in providing general directives for future action and in pointing out weaknesses and possible improvements of work in the trade union field.

As indication of the extent of the Latin American participation in international meetings of the W.F.T.U. is provided by the figures of the Third World Congress of the W.F.T.U. held in Vienna in October 1953. Of the approximately eight hundred delegates and observers at the Congress, 25% were from Latin American countries.

International meetings are also important to the W.F.T.U. for the effect on the delegates themselves. In many instances the delegates are minor figures with little influence in their own countries and to whom the opportunity of travelling to a far off capital is unique. While attending the meeting they are given a chance to associate with well-known leaders, even to address the meeting, and to participate in the general spirit of solidarity and friendship. The net result is to give them a feeling of importance, and of belonging, with a corresponding increase in morale.

Quite frequently the delegates are invited to visit the U.S.S.R. or the satellites, where they are taken on rigidly conducted tours of model factories, collective farms, hospitals, recreational centers, etc. Upon their return home they are, of course, expected to spread glowing accounts of what they have seen.

No precise figures are currently available as to the number of Latin American trade unionists who have made such trips. However, Nikolai SHVERNIK, President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (U.S.S.R.) and a vice president of the W.F.T.U., stated the following in an article appearing in the July 1954 issue of the World Trade Union Movement: "We should also mention the development of friendly relations between the Soviet trade unions and those of Latin America. During the past 2 years alone, delegations of trade union representatives from 17 Latin American countries have visited our country."

In addition to international meetings, regional conferences sponsored, or co-sponsored, by the W.F.T.U. serve the additional purpose of publicizing the W.F.T.U.'s "concern" for a particular area and of influencing trade unions within the area. Appropriate themes, such as the "national liberation struggle" in southeast Asia, or "Yankee imperialism" in Latin America, keynote the regional conferences.

Among such meetings in Latin America have been the C.T.A.L. sponsored South American Trade Union Conference in Montevideo in 1950. Other meetings, co-sponsored by the C.T.A.L. and the Trade Departments

of the W.F.T.U., have been the Conference of Agricultural Workers of Latin America held in Mexico City in May 1951; the Conference of Land and Air Transport Workers of Latin America, held in Guatemala in May 1951, and the Inter-American Conference of Mining, Metal and Engineering Workers, held in Mexico City in March 1953.

6. W.F.T.U. Training of Trade Union Cadres

One of the more significant developments in the international Communist labor movement has been the establishment by the W.F.T.U. of a training school for cadres known as the Central School for Trade Union Cadres.

The existence of this school was officially acknowledged by Louis SAILLANT, Secretary General of the W.F.T.U., in October 1953.

The Central School for Trade Union Cadres is located in a satellite country, although the W.F.T.U. attempts to create the impression that it is located in Vienna.

The school actually started functioning in July 1953. The faculty of the school is made up of Soviet, Hungarian and Italian instructors, and each course lasts approximately three months.

The course of instruction includes the study of basic Communist doctrine, as well as problems of trade union theory and practice, and related subjects.

All expenses are borne by the W.F.T.U. which, in addition to paying transportation costs to and from the school, also provides the

students with spending money. In the case of married students, their families are provided with a monthly subsistence allowance. Travel arrangements for Latin American students are usually made by the C.T.A.L.

A large percentage of the students who have attended the school have been from the Latin American countries. Upon return to their native countries, the students are expected to apply the principles learned at the school to the trade union movement in their own country. At the same time the W.F.T.U. hopes to establish loyal nuclei of trade unionists in these countries who, as a result of their Communist indoctrination and training in the school, will remain amenable to W.F.T.U. control.

IV. C. International Fronts for Subversion of Youth

The CPSU has always appreciated the validity of Lenin's statement, "He that has the youth has the future." The CPSU has consequently sought to secure its future by indoctrinating, training and extending its control over the largest possible number of young people throughout the world. Since 1919 it has done this by using international Communist youth fronts with affiliates in virtually every country in order to conceal the CPSU's actual role. Until 1943 the CPSU used the Communist Youth International, which it controlled through the Comintern. From 1945 to date the CPSU has used two international Communist youth fronts to achieve the same purpose and has controlled them through Soviet and Communist officials who have occupied the key policy-making positions from the beginning and who have "run" these organizations on behalf of the CPSU. One is the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), which is headquartered in Budapest, Hungary and which seeks to make converts to the Communist cause youths of all ages from 8 to 30. The other is the International Union of Students (IUS), which is headquartered in Prague, Czechoslovakia and which specializes in influencing and subverting the students, the world's future leaders.

All of the policy-making Executive Committee members of these fronts are either Communists or fellow-travellers, and over one-third of these officials are from the Soviet bloc.

Indicative of the importance both fronts attach to Latin America is the fact that the WFDY Executive Committee includes three Latin Americans--a Cuban, a Brazilian and a Chilean, and the IUS Executive Committee includes a Cuban and an Ecuadoran and provides for the inclusion of two more officials from Bolivia and Mexico.

These Latin American officials are full-time workers at the international headquarters of these fronts in Budapest and Prague, where they receive important on-the-job training, and play the key role of supervising and guiding the work of the full-time, trained employees working in special departments concerned with Latin American affairs. They help these departments tailor the CPSU's current line on all matters to fit specific Latin American issues and problems of general interest to youth in this area. They also help to find new and better ways to organize larger, stronger and more numerous affiliates in this area.

1. Propaganda

It should be remembered that the WFDY and the IUS are not legitimate international youth organizations as we know them but are, instead, Communist propaganda mills and training grounds for future Communist Party members. Millions of dollars are spent on their worldwide operations every year--most of which comes from the Soviet bloc countries, and it is estimated that in the past two years alone

there has been a four-fold increase in the propaganda materials these fronts have manufactured and sent to Latin America.

This WFDY-IUS propaganda material consists not only of several slick, multi-colored and regularly issued publications in a total of 13 languages--some of which are published in as many as 100,000 copies--but also of special publications on sports and for students of architecture, medicine, pedagogy and agriculture. According to the resolution recently adopted by the WFDY at its Council Meeting in Warsaw this August, the WFDY will increase its propaganda output still further by publishing a regular bulletin on "sports and open-air activities" and another dealing with "cultural and educational problems." The WFDY may also emulate the IUS by publishing special bulletins for young workers. In addition, countless special letters, circulars, leaflets, pamphlets, booklets, and regular publications publicizing special events are sent out annually by these fronts not only to WFDY-IUS affiliates but also to non-member youth and student organizations and even to university libraries.

Propaganda materials destined for Latin America are almost completely different from copies of the same issue of the same publication going to other areas. They are written in Spanish and contain pictures and articles of particular interest to Latin American youth. Each affiliate receives literally hundreds of pounds of such propaganda

material every year in Spanish from the international headquarters of these fronts. This material not only provides them with the Latin American youth version of the CPSU "line" on all issues but also gives them detailed instructions on how to implement the line.

Both the WFDY and the IUS claim to be "democratic" and to represent the world youth and student community. The WFDY claims to represent more than 85 million young people in 97 countries, and the IUS claims to represent more than 5.3 million students in 72 countries.

Although these claims are no doubt exaggerated and although approximately two-thirds of the members in both the WFDY and the IUS come from Communist-controlled areas, there is no doubt about the dangerously steady increase in strength each of these international Communist fronts is making every year in the free world.

2. Affiliates.

On examining the success they claim to have made in Latin America in the past few years, we find that from the summer of 1949 to the summer of 1953 the WFDY claims to have secured the affiliation of 52 additional youth organizations in 16 Latin American countries.

While such detailed information is not available on the IUS, it also claims to have gained six affiliates in six additional countries in the period between 1948 and 1951, or a total membership of 680,000 students in 19 affiliated student organizations in 15 Latin American countries by 1951.

WFDY-IUS affiliates in this area range from important national student unions to which all university students in a particular country belong to small, local and seemingly innocent choir and sports groups. But whether large or small, each group plays a vital role in helping the Communists win their insidious "battle for the minds of youth." This is done by gaining the support or cooperation of non-Communists and non-member organizations by pretending to work for popular domestic and international issues while actually systematically indoctrinating them with propaganda designed to make them conscious or unconscious allies of the Communists.

3. Expansion Program.

For the past several years the CPSU has urged its Communist Parties and its fronts to exploit popular issues to form broad united fronts with the masses in order to secure support for current Soviet Communist objectives. The CPSU considers this more important than ever before because it feels the improved international political climate should be exploited. In this connection, it is interesting to see what the Executive Committee of the WFDY had to say in a resolution recently adopted at a meeting in Warsaw on August 2, 1955--and it should be remembered that such resolutions are in fact directives to all WFDY affiliates for action:

"The Executive Committee is of the opinion that the unity of the broadest masses of youth, regardless of their political opinions, religious beliefs or social background, in the fight for vital rights and interests of youth, in the struggle for peace and friendship among nations has been and remains THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK of the Federation and of its members.

"The favorable development of the international situation testified to the great importance of this vital task confronting our federation and emphasizes its urgent character.

"The Executive Committee must stress at the same time that the WFDY and its executive organs are not availing themselves of every opportunity to unite all youth in the defense of its interests, that they are not striving consistently enough to establish relations and cooperation with other international youth organizations, that they are giving insufficient help to the organizations affiliated to the WFDY, that they are applying in an insufficient degree new forms and methods of work...

"To solve the problems confronting the WFDY, the Executive Committee deems it necessary to recommend to the Secretariat and to the organizations affiliated to the Federation to strive for a further increase of the WFDY's influence among the entire youth, to conduct intensified activity among those young people who so far have not taken part in the struggle for their rights, to establish contacts with the youth belonging to organizations not forming part of the WFDY, to cooperate with various international, national and local organizations, with the most diverse movements and groupings of the youth. The WFDY and its member organizations should continuously look for and put forth common problems and issues constituting a basis for bringing youth and youth organizations of different views and opinions closer together."

4. Tactics

Let us look and see how Latin American WFDY-IUS affiliates try to secure unity of action with non-Communist groups. They may do so by organizing seemingly innocent football and volleyball teams, theater,

music and athletic groups or by forming special groups in factories and farm areas with regular entertainment to attract non-Communists. They may also attempt to camouflage their sponsorship of certain activities by setting up special "committees" that purport to be "broadly representative" in order to secure non-Communist support. Such "committees" may range from local groups pretending to be merely interested in getting a new playground or sports equipment to national groups organizing ostensibly a political athletic, literary, artistic and musical competitions and "cultural" youth festivals. These devices were actually used during the past year in Latin America in organizing the so-called "South American Youth Festival" which was held in Sao Paulo in February 1955 despite the Brazilian Government's issuance of a decree banning it. This event was preceded by many local and regional festivals--all of which were colorful, entertaining and apparently innocent until one realized that the dancing, singing, plays, concerts, art exhibits and bazaars merely provided the Communists with added opportunities to exploit Latin American nationalism and to discredit the U. S. by spreading lies that "Yankee imperialism" was corrupting their cultural heritage and that they should unite to preserve their fine cultural traditions--these lies are part of the CPSU's battle to subvert Latin America by sowing mass suspicion and distrust of the United States in order to destroy hemispheric strength and unity.

5. International Meetings as Indoctrination Media.

These festivals as well as many other activities, also served to publicize and to secure participants for the recent WFDY-IUS-sponsored "Fifth World Youth Festival" that was held in Warsaw from July 31 to August 14, 1955. The importance of these "World Youth Festivals" --or mass propaganda spectacles which are jointly organized every other summer in an iron curtain country--can be seen by the fact that over 50 million was spent on just holding the Third World Youth Festival in East Berlin in August 1951, and this does not include the huge sums that were spent in paying the transportation expenses of the thousands of young people who came from "colonial and underdeveloped areas." Latin America is considered such an area by the Communists, and some 300 Latin American youth and students from 17 Latin American countries attended this event.

Since then, Latin American participation at WFDY and IUS international conferences and festivals has more than tripled and has probably resulted in enlarging and strengthening these fronts in this important area. A comparison of Latin American attendance at subsequent World Youth Festivals dramatically indicates this point. At the Fourth Festival in Bucharest in August 1953, 600--or twice as many--young people from Latin American countries attended. And this past August in Warsaw some 1,000 young people from the 20 Latin American Republics are thought to have attended--are more than three times as many as at the 1951 Festival.

You may ask what difference does it make if 1,000 young people from Latin America attend a Youth Festival in Bucharest. Let us see what happened to these Latin Americans during the two-weeks of the Festival. Every second of their waking hours they were exposed to propaganda that was particularly insidious because it was "peddled" in amusing and entertaining plays, films, concerts, cultural presentations, exhibits, fashion shows, camp fire meetings, dances and sports contests. Latin American delegates also met with delegations from the Soviet bloc countries in special meetings where no effort was spared to make them believe the Soviet Union and its youth fronts were working for their welfare, to exploit Latin American nationalism and to discredit the U. S. They attended special meetings arranged for students in virtually all branches of study, for youth in almost all fields of work and even meetings for Catholic and Jewish youth. At these, they discussed common problems and proposed ways for working for their solution in the future--providing the fronts with continued contact with them. Finally, many of these Latin Americans were given free, all-expense paid, return trips through many other Communist countries, including Moscow and Peking, and in many cases were even paid to write articles, to speak on the radio or to perform. They were flattered, winned, dined, indoctrinated and exposed only to what the Communists wanted them to see or hear, and they were urged to

return to their respective countries and tell their young compatriots what they had seen and done. As a result--judging from past experience--the great bulk of these delegates will return as ardent and active young propagandists for the Communist cause--laden with appropriate Communist propaganda materials.

Moreover, at this Festival and subsequent "organized" tours through the Soviet bloc, Latin American Communist youth leaders were given the opportunity of getting first-hand instruction and help from Communist bloc officials of these fronts.

6. Increase of International Meetings in USSR.

There will have to be greater vigilance than ever in the future if the Communists are to lose their "battle for the minds of youth," because the fronts are planning a host of activities for the future designed to appeal to almost all sections of world youth. In addition, the WFDY is apparently planning to start training youth leaders at special meetings, seminars and study courses it plans to hold this coming year. It also plans to hold a "Meeting of Representatives of Girls Organizations" in 1956 in order to secure greater support among the young feminine populace.

But what is of even greater significance is the fact that these fronts have now begun to hold international meetings in Moscow and are planning to do this still more in the future. In August 1954 the IUS held its annual Council Meeting in Moscow which was attended

IV. D. International Fronts for Subversion of Women

Women have always played a vital role in defending their country's moral and spiritual values and of determining its national character. Realizing this, the CPSU has always paid particular attention to subverting this large and important sector of society. It has sought to do this by using international Communist women's fronts with worldwide affiliates to organize women for its ulterior aims by pretending to champion their natural and laudable instincts as wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts to spare their loved ones from the horrors of war, sickness, poverty and injustice. From 1919 to 1943 the CPSU used the Women's Department of the Comintern for this purpose, and since 1945 the CPSU has used and hidden behind the Women's International Democratic Federation, headquartered in East Berlin and completely controlled by Soviet and Communist officials, to extend its influence and control over women.

Consisting from the outset only of Communist-controlled member organizations in each country, the WIDF never experienced the loss of affiliates the other major international Communist fronts did when their disillusioned non-Communist groups withdrew en masse in 1948. As a result of the complete unity of purpose stemming from this Communist control, and as a result of the WIDF's persistent use of democratic phraseology to convince women that WIDF affiliates were the only women's organizations struggling for sorely needed women's rights, the WIDF has become steadily stronger, more active and more useful to the CPSU.

In the ten years since its formation, the WIDF claims to have gained 60 million new members and affiliates in 26 more countries. It now claims to represent over 140 million women in 66 countries and to influence an even greater number in non-affiliated organizations who actively support its program.

1. Affiliates

The actual size and number of WIDF affiliates in Latin America is not known, but it is a well known fact that there are many such affiliates, that they are playing an important and influential role in many Latin American countries and that they are steadily gaining adherents and supporters each year. It is also a well known fact that the WIDF has been devoting more attention to developing greater and stronger affiliates in this important area. To accomplish this, the Third WIDF Congress that met in Copenhagen in June 1953 elected three Latin American women to its policymaking Executive Committee. These women represent Communist-controlled women's organizations in Argentina, Brazil and Cuba, and the Brazilian representative is one of the WIDF's seven Secretaries who work the year round at the WIDF headquarters.

2. Headquarters

The international headquarters of the WIDF is appropriately situated in the Soviet sector of East Berlin, making Soviet direction, supervision and control of its operations easier and more pervasive. All of the members of the Executive Committee are Communists or fellow travellers, and two of the key supervisory positions are held by Soviet officials--one of the Assistant General Secretaryships and one of the Vice Presidencies.

Moreover, most of the hundreds of thousands of dollars spent annually on the WIDF's worldwide propaganda activities comes from the Soviet bloc countries, from which the WIDF also derives the bulk of its membership strength.

3. Propanda

A large part of its annual budget is spent regularly on publishing several periodicals in five languages, as well as issuing from time to time many special circulars, letters, leaflets, and pamphlets. Such publications appear in Spanish and are specially tailored to fit current conditions in Latin America. They give the Latin American women's version of the CPSU line on all issues and furnish WIDF affiliates with instructions on how to secure the broad "unity of action" the CPSU desires with all groups of non-Communist women.

Part of the WIDF's annual budget is also spent on weekly international broadcasts in four languages. Spanish broadcasts are beamed to all Latin American countries and also contain propaganda designed to interest women in this area.

4. International Meetings

Finally, a large part of the WIDF's annual budget is spent on organizing large international propaganda conferences and periodic business meetings and for defraying the travel and other expenses of delegates from Latin America and other parts of the world. In the past, most of the business meetings of the WIDF were held in the Soviet orbit, e.g., the Second WIDF Congress in Budapest in 1948, WIDF Council Meetings in Moscow and East Berlin in November 1949 and February 1951, respectively, and an Executive Committee Meeting in Sofia in June 1951.

However, in an attempt to secure broader participation of non-Communist and non-affiliated organizations, the WIDF has held its more recent meetings in the free world, apparently with some success. The WIDF claims that its 1953 Congress in Copenhagen was attended by 1,865 women from 67 countries, only 613, or only one-third of whom were delegates. Among the participants were 46 women from 13 Latin American countries, and the WIDF claimed that several trade unions were represented from Brazil, as well as other non-member organizations from British Guiana, Honduras, Jamaica, Paraguay and Trinidad.

At its most recent "World Congress of Mothers in Defense of Their Children, Against War, For Disarmament and Friendship Between the Peoples", which was held in Lausanne, July 7-10, 1955, the WIDF claimed that over half of the 1,060 participants from 66 countries, or 653 women, had never previously attended an international meeting and that 15 Latin American countries were represented. This was regarded as evidence of the development and growth of the WIDF throughout the world.

These international meetings serve several important functions. First, they provide women's fronts throughout the world with an opportunity of organizing preparatory activities locally and nationally, and later of organizing other activities to discuss the results of such meetings. Needless to say every opportunity is used to indoctrinate new participants and make them tools of the Communist women's fronts. These activities are for the most part ostensibly organized by broadly representative "preparatory committee" that are actually set up in almost every hamlet and controlled by local women's fronts. These committees are generally

fairly successful in attracting the participation and support of unaffiliated and non-Communist women since preparatory activities are built around the emotionally compelling and universally appealing themes of such meetings. Preparations for the first Latin American Conference of Women are reported to have resulted in the formation of many new women's organizations in this area. This Conference was planned at the 1953 WIDF Congress and was held in Rio de Janeiro on August 31, 1954, purportedly "to study the rights of women and the life and defense of children" in this area. Hemispheric preparations were handled by a "Latin American Committee of women" that exchanged information and coordinated policies and tactics. This Committee provided Communist women leaders with valuable liaison and planning experience and may even have been continued on a permanent basis.

5. Expansion Program

The WIDF probably experienced even greater growth as a result of the preparations for its recent "World Congress of Mothers." The WIDF and its affiliates mobilized all their energies into achieving the broadest "unity of action" possible with the most varied types and groups of women by strong emotional appeals to the love all mothers have for their children and to their sacred obligations to protect them from hunger, poverty, disease and from the dangers of war. The WIDF greatly increased its propaganda output during the past year, providing its affiliates with a steady stream of material for use in publicizing this Congress and as guidance in finding new and better ways of securing mass support. Such guidance was given in great detail in a resolution unanimously adopted by the WIDF at a Council Meeting in Geneva in February 1955. This

resolution directed all WIDF affiliates to "...set up national preparatory or ...coordination committees...to ensure the widest possible support for the Congress..." The resolution also urged WIDF affiliates to popularize the Congress by organizing such "varied activities" as "Mother's Day and memorial day" (celebrations), "cultural events, meetings, small house gatherings, neighbourly talks, reading circles, lectures with photos, slides or films, as well as classes on dressmaking, care of the home, child care and any other kinds of meetings which meet the needs of women from all walks of life..." in each country.

Latin American women's fronts used these and similar tactics to extend their influence and control over diverse groups of women. Attempts were made to make each activity festive and entertaining in order to secure greater participation, and particular attention was paid to the problems of the Latin American housewife trying to feed, clothe, house and educate her children when living costs were so high. Latin American women were rallied to fight for general price-freezing and against the "empty pot."

There is also another and no less important function served by these international meetings and by the subsequent all-expense-paid "guided tours through the Soviet orbit to which most delegates are traditionally treated before returning home -- and it is known that many of the Latin American women who attended the recent World Congress of Women were given free return trips through the Soviet orbit, and, in some cases, throughout the Soviet Union and Communist China as well. These meetings and tours provide WIDF Soviet and Communist officials with an opportunity to indoctrinate directly large numbers of representatives of women's

organizations throughout the world, many of which are not affiliated with the WIDF. They also provide WIDF Soviet and Communist officials with an opportunity to instruct and help Communist women leaders become more effective propagandists and organizers on their return home. Finally, these meetings and tours also enable the CPSU to coordinate the policies of the women's fronts with those of all the other front organizations and Communist Parties in order to extend Communist influence and control over all groups of people in all countries.

V. The Operational Pattern of Direct Intervention by the CPSU in Latin American Communist Party Affairs

Since its seizure of power in Russia thirty seven years ago, the CPSU has steadily acquired sophistication in its methods of operating. With the development of the means of indirect support and guidance described in the preceding sections, extensive direct intervention is for the present, at least, unnecessary. The small but experienced group of leaders created by the educational efforts of the Comintern who now head the Latin American Communist parties are, under ordinary circumstances, capable of making tactical decisions and managing Party affairs on their own.

Nevertheless, the CPSU is still confronted with special problems which require its direct intervention.

First, the devious and complex pattern of its policy on international matters requires that trusted leaders abroad be given, personal and confidential briefings on plans and long range strategies which will affect their activities.

Second, as new leaders are required in the Latin American Parties- (and many of the leaders of today have been active for more than thirty years)- the final selection and training of new men must be kept under CPSU control.

Third, as new leaders emerge within the CPSU itself, their control over the parties abroad can only be maintained if they personally confirm the top leaders. (After all, in any well run business, branch managers visit the head office to meet a new managing director!)

Besides these problems of management, the CPSU also recognizes that certain kinds of direct support, which it can give as long as local governments do not protest too vehemently, are desirable from the viewpoint of simple efficiency. At present, such support is given primarily in propaganda and party education.

What, specifically, is the CPSU doing in these fields?

1. Leadership Control

In October, 1952, the CPSU held its 19th Congress, which turned out to be the largest gathering of the notables of World Communism ever held. At least ten (10) top leaders of the seven (7) most important Latin American Communist Parties attended, and senior members of an additional four (4) Latin American Parties are believed to have also been present. At this Congress major decisions on the future course of International Communism were confirmed, after lengthy discussions in which the Latin American representatives participated.

During 1953, at least twenty four (24) leaders, representing nine (9) Latin American Communist Parties visited the USSR, to attend

international conferences, for medical treatment, or as members of touring delegations. Some of these visits lasted as long as six months. In a number of instances we know definitely that the leaders concerned were extensively interviewed by leaders of the CPSU concerning conditions in their home countries and their parties, participated in extensive discussions of international affairs and Communist policy, with particular attention to the role their own parties were expected to play. Lastly, they were in some instances given extensive criticism of their own performance.

Again, in 1953, at least twenty (20) promising members drawn from four major Latin American Communist parties spent periods in the USSR. In some instances these people were enrolled in training courses scheduled to last as long as two years. Others were given more intensive courses of perhaps a couple of months duration. All of them were given extensive tours and impressed with the strength and intentions of the CPSU. Training of this sort has been going on since 1948. A number of those who have successfully completed such training now occupy important posts within their home parties. These twenty by no means represent the total number who have had the opportunity for training. Many more Latin Americans have travelled to the USSR on tours or conferences arranged by international fronts and some among them undoubtedly belong in this category.

One thing all these cases have in common; the relationship with the CPSU took place in the security afforded by the Iron Curtain. Outside of the Curtain direct contact between Latin American Communists and representatives of the CPSU is necessarily limited. The discovery of such contacts maintained within the borders of the country in which the particular Communist Party operates has in fact provided the basis for most protests and defensive measures by local governments in the past. However, an alternative technique has been evolved. In a number of instances the leaders of Latin American Communist Parties travel within Latin America itself to neighboring countries where they are less well known and can with apparent impunity contact whom they please, including representatives of the CPSU.

2. Propaganda and Indoctrination Support

When we turn to the other aspect of this question - CPSU support for the propaganda, training, and indoctrination activities of local Communist Parties, - the evidence is quite impressive.

Since the early 1920's the Foreign Language Publishing House in Moscow, operating under the Propaganda Administration of the Central Committee of the CPSU, has produced an impressive volume and variety of books, pamphlets, and periodicals in many languages. Works in Spanish make up a substantial part of this output, and most of such production now finds its way to Latin America, through the International

Book Trust, a Soviet corporation set up to distribute Soviet publications abroad and to procure foreign writings for publication in the USSR.

At least six periodicals are currently being produced and distributed in Latin America by the International Book Trust. Five of these - Soviet Union, Soviet Literature, Soviet Woman, Soviet Culture, and the VOKS Bulletin (published specifically for the hyphenated-Soviet Friendship Societies) present idealized pictures of life in the Soviet Union, emphasizing the strength and avowed peaceful nature of its society and government. These publications, whose circulation is promoted by Latin American Communist Parties, serve mainly to ease the path for those Parties and to give them some useful local prestige.

The sixth periodical - New Times - known in Spanish as Tiempos Nuevos - is a unique publication and is recognized as such by Latin American Communism. The background of this magazine is an interesting example of the way in which the CPSU works. Prior to the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, the weekly International Press Correspondence (commonly known as IMPRECOR) was the official organ of the Comintern and its most authoritative vehicle for education and propaganda support of national parties. It was carefully studied by local Parties and extensively quoted in the local Party press. It was suspended in 1943. In 1943, the International Book Trust began to publish a new weekly, entitled War and the Working Class, which was printed in a number of

foreign languages and circulated extensively abroad. This too was eventually suspended only to be replaced by New Times. In the meantime, of course, the Cominform Journal had been launched and assumed the task of guidance of foreign Communist Parties as has already been described. What, then, remained for New Times to do?

Basically, it does three things:

First, it selects and authoritatively interprets those current world events which lend themselves to propaganda exploitation by world Communism, in accordance with its current strategy and tactics.

Second, it screens the world press, Communist and non-Communist alike, for editorial and interpretive articles which can be manipulated to the advantage of world Communism, and presents such material in organized form, together with implicit approval for their propaganda use abroad. In this manner a Latin American Communist publication can, with comparative ease and speed publish and exploit to its own advantage the cream of the colored, distorted, and misinterpreted reporting on world events, and the best of the scurrilous diatribes against those who resist the further extension of Communist domination.

Third, - but by no means least important - it provides local Communist Parties with a vehicle for getting their most effective propaganda product delivered, with the implicit approval of the CPSU, into the hands of those neighboring Communist Parties whose support in a particular campaign can frequently convert a purely local event into

an international issue.

It is no wonder that every Latin American Communist Party devotes considerable time and effort to exploiting this expensive and valuable service.

However, the CPSU's literary output of aid to local Communist Parties is not all of a periodical nature. Of even greater importance, particularly for the making of new Party members and the continuing education of old ones, are the political books and pamphlets which it produces in Spanish.

The three fundamental texts for educating a Communist - The History of the CPSU - Short Course; the Selected Works of Lenin, and the Collected Works of J. Stalin (the latter in eleven volumes, so far) have all been published in Spanish since the end of World War II and sent, in as many as 300 copies at a time, to individual Latin American countries, where they are used by the local Party for study by individual members or in organized training courses. To give an idea of the magnitude of this effort, over 5,000,000 copies of the first of these works have been distributed abroad in foreign languages.

In some instances, the CPSU has provided published material specifically prepared for use in Party training. In 1952, for example, a political indoctrination course in thirteen small volumes was produced by the CPSU for training its own members in the Soviet Union. This course was promptly translated into Spanish and distributed in Latin America, where it has been used, to our knowledge, by the Communist Parties

of at least four countries for local training.

The themes of this course are most enlightening. In essence, it tries to drive home four ideas:

- A. The World is divided into two camps.
- B. The Imperialists of the United States are the worst enemies of peace, liberty and national independence.
- C. The Soviet Union is the principal directing force of the "Democratic" camp.
- D. The Forces of "Peace, Democracy, and Socialism" grow and become stronger.

The material for this course distorts history, misrepresents and misinterprets the policies and actions of the United States and other free nations in the postwar world, and drives home the point that Peace and Democracy can only be achieved by following the direction of the Soviet Union.

Lastly, the CPSU has in 1954 produced and distributed in Latin America an extensive selection of pamphlets, many of which are new editions of Communist classics originally written thirty to fifty years ago. These works, which are promptly used by local Communist Parties for study and indoctrination, contain some themes which are particularly thought provoking at this time, when so much is being made by the local Parties of the United Front technique.

There is, for example, J. Stalin's work, The Social Democratic Deviation in Our Party. This work deals with the problem of disunity within a Communist Party and its effects. Today, it points out to the Party member the fundamental (and unchanging) character of the strategy of temporary alliances, and warns him of the hazards that accompany the use of this strategy. In this as in many others of these currently

published works, the Party member is presented again and again with an important theme - the picture is that of a unified, disciplined Communist Party whose members thoroughly understand Marxism - Leninism, and are capable, therefore of cooperating temporarily (on the national or international level) with some of its fundamental enemies without being tainted by their ideas or led astray from the ultimate objectives of World Communism.

Other works deal with questions such as peasant movements, the basic aspects of Marxism, and the origins and tenets of materialist philosophy. All appear designed to contribute to the building and maintaining of Communist Parties which can survive and work successfully in unfavorable conditions.

All these publications are made available to local Communist Parties at nominal prices, or as gifts. In some instances, the Parties even benefit financially from such material, when they derive a profit from its sale to their members and sympathizers.

All of this assistance seems designed to serve one end; to ensure that well-organized, well-led, and tightly disciplined Communist Parties exist in Latin America and are continuously subordinated to and loyal to the CPSU, to be used as and when it sees fit as dependable auxiliaries in achieving eventual world domination.